HOLIDAY SEASON IS HERE – SHOP GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE See pp. 6-7

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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LABOR

The AFL-CIO merger: what it will mean for 15,000,000 workers

By Elmer Bendiner

NO ONE IN THE LABOR movement objects to marriage in principle, but when the CIO and AFL walk down the aisle on Dec. 5, each will vow only to tolerate the other and refrain from mayhem in the struggle to follow immediately upon conclusion of the ceremony.

On Dec. 1, the CIO will hold its 17th and final convention in Manhattan Center in New York. A few blocks away in the Hotel Statler the AFL will hold its convention. The prime business in each place will be to ratify the marriage contract. The delegates will then adjourn to the 71st Regimental Armory for the first convention of the AFL-CIO.

The merger unites 15,000,000 workers (one-fourth of the nation's labor force) organized into 145 unions. It comes 19 years after the CIO broke out of the "House of Labor" and the control of "mossbacks" to organize the nation's basic industries, unhandicapped by craft-union policies, dictation from the top, red-baiting, jimcrow or racketeering.

CONFLICT MOVES IN: The CIO did much to give the New Deal a base and a direction in American life. In the cold war years it faltered, picked up the axe which AFL bosses had once used against it and cut off those unions which failed to go along with the CIO machine. It tied itself to the Truman doctrine, soft-pedaled its anti-jimcrow policy, won few new members despite a glamorized leadership.

The labor movement is now united—with a number of significant holdouts (miners and railroad men) and some lock-outs (the progressive unions) —but the same evils the CIO was founded to combat will remain: craft-unionism, red-baiting, jimcrow and rackets.

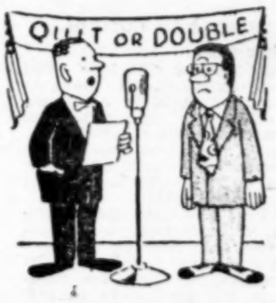
George Meany, president of the AFL and slated to be president of the AFL-CIO, summed up the case for marriage:

> "We are deliberating with our eyes open, bringing the conflict within our organization. But I am convinced the bad results of division will not be worsened by the merger."

QUILL'S REVOLT: A few thought otherwise. Michael Quill, president of the CIO Transport Workers Union, fought the merger terms as perpetuating "the three R's, racism, raiding and racketeering." The TWU announced it would not finally decide to join the new organization until convention time. Quill was particularly vehement on jimcrow. President L. S. Buckmaster of the CIO United Rubber Workers, in trying to soothe Quill, recalled the CIO's courageous fight against discrimination and added:

> "We must admit that these qualities were somewhat lacking in most AFL unions, but I think that we are justified in entertaining the hope that the new, merged labor move-

(Continued on Page 9)



Carrefour, Paris

"Now for the $64,000 question. How can a person favor segregation while he also favors racial equality?"

Never thought we'd see him with his feet on the ground

Our airborne Secretary of State, in a rare frolicsome mood, leaves his native cloud-like habitat to leap to the ground from a helicopter. The 'copter brought him to Catoctin mountain lodge of the President in Maryland for the first meeting of the National Security Council to be presided over by Mr. Eisenhower since his heart attack. Dulles has traveled 218,196 miles since January, 1953.

PRESS WITCH-HUNT ON AGAIN

McManus, Aronson, 60 other newsmen summoned to Eastland quiz in N. Y.

JOHN T. McMANUS, the GUARDIAN's general manager, and James Aronson, its executive editor, are among some 60 newsmen and women handed subpenas ordering them to appear before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee when it holds closed hearings in New York beginning Dec. 5. Sen. McCarthy, when he headed Congressional witch-hunters, summoned Aronson and GUARDIAN editor Cedric Belfrage, paving the way for Belfrage's deportation.

McManus was president of the N. Y. Newspaper Guild, CIO, from 1943 to 1948 and Aronson edited the N. Y. Guild's official organ, **Front Page,** when he was on leave from the N. Y. **Times** in 1947. Most other subpena holders are veteran guildsmen, mainly employed on the **Times, Mirror, News, Post** and

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"I COULD NOT REMAIN SILENT"

The conversion of Harry P. Cain

By Lawrence Emery

WHEN HARRY P. CAIN was a Republican Senator from Washington (1946-1952) he ran with the witch-hunting wing of his party. He seemed a logical choice when Eisenhower, on April 10, 1953, appointed him to the Subversive Activities Control Board, a central cog in the elaborate witch-hunting apparatus. Cain was happy to accept the $15,000-a-year job.

When Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell petitioned the SACB in December, 1954, to find the Washington Pension Union a "communist-front" organization and order it to register as such with the Justice Dept., it seemed logical to pick Harry Cain to conduct the hearings because the case involved his home state.

MOVE TO DISQUALIFY: The Pension Union was understandably unhappy at the choice. As a Senator, Cain had publicly denounced the organization during a hearing conducted by the Senate Armed Forces subcommittee in 1949:

> "I would like to point out to this committee that the Washington Pension Union is one of the most notorious Communist-front organizations in our state, and its entire high command has been identified as belonging to the Communist Party before the Washington State Un-American Activities Committee."

This statement was published in the **Congressional Record** for March 3, 1949, on page 1771. The Pension Union moved that Cain be disqualified as biased and prejudiced. Both the Dept. of Justice and the SACB rejected the motion.

But something was happening to Harry Cain at that time. He was assigned to the Pension Union case in February this year; a month earlier, on Jan. 15 in a speech in Spokane, Wash., he had declared that the Brownell gov-

(Continued on Page 10)

DON'T BE BACKWARD!

RENEW ON TIME

If your address-plate reads Dec., '55 or earlier, your subscription is in arrears and is due for renewal. To renew for one year mail address-plate with $3. Do it today.

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THE MAIL BAG

R. I. P.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Paul Crouch has died. No more can he betray his fellow man through his perjuries. Unfortunately, the effects of his sordid life live on to curse intelligent workers of America. The past year was an exhibition of a ghastly farce acted out by him and the FBI. He and they squabbled over the wages paid to him for his perjuries. Between two perjurers, who tells the truth?

W. P. C.

Herman hits bottom

ALLENTOWN, PA.

Herman Thomas, a local FBI provocateur-informer, bit the dust in the elections held in Allentown Nov. 8. He ran for office on the Democratic ticket. Not only did he poll the lowest vote of the three Democratic candidates, but he polled below the three opposing Republicans as well!

In the Lehigh Valley's Democratic landslide, this stoolpigeon was decisively smacked down by the people. It would seem that the gentle breezes of justice which are blowing across the land have at last wafted in our direction.

Sylvia R. Freedland

Light plus heat

LORAIN, O.

A serious fault I have to find with practically the whole progressive press during this Cold War era is that while it has done a first-rate job of providing "light," it has fallen down on the job in the equally vital task of providing "heat." And that failure is a key reason for the unnatural state of lethargy among progressives, particularly at the present time.

The superb editorial on Thoreau in the Nov. 1 GUARDIAN is an indication that you people are now becoming acutely aware of this fact.

R. Grant

Over the coals

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

A small number of us gathered to discuss the Spectator article, "On Thoreau, Conformity and the Left Today." We came to these conclusions:

The analysis was bad; it did not coincide with the experiences of anyone in the room. The writing was glib, too general and highly assumptive.

What does the Spectator mean by "grounds of the enemy?" This is vague phrasing. It could mean "attitudes," "means for communications," "legal apparatus," et al.

Who accepted "premises in which we do not believe?" Not one of us felt we had been forced into such acceptance. Neither did we "argue with tyrants according to the rules of tyrants." Most of the time we've been doing the arguing to the dictates of on-the-spot, day-to-day necessity.

When it is necessary to champion humanity in the language of the law then our courageous attorneys do so, the judicial super-structure being only one of the arenas wherein this championing takes place.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Harriman is a pertinacious sort. He had no particular equipment to start with, but he taught himself by sheer persistence to be a first-class polo player; a first-class croquet player (don't sneer; it's a tough game mentally); a first-class poker player; a first-class backgammon player. in fact, I know of few things in which he has not become first-class—and that goes as an answer to your statement that he "has always been a poor administrator."

—Herbert Bayard Swope in a letter to the Miami (Fla.) Herald.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: L. Haber, Miami Beach, Fla. Be sure to send original clipping with entry.

Which forces invented the "ground rules" of mass visits to legislators in the state and national capitols to defeat a vicious bill? Of course, the Left.

How does the Left define "American Way?" Isn't this slogan-phrase a form of chauvinism? You err when you imply the concept "American way" to the left. They lack this concept.

Spectator makes an unwarranted assumption of finality in the statement that "the Left does reverence to the two-party system and has come to look with hopelessness on the status of a minority party." For the immediate future the Left may not be able to see a Left-sponsored third party, but we don't close our eyes to it for possible revival at some future time. We aren't that mechanical.

We don't feel hopeless or brave or lonely. We feel in excellent good health as witness the well-attended and buoyantly-spirited public gatherings in the recent past in Los Angeles. We had something to do with beating back the vicious bills Sacramento tried to put over on us this past year. There are many other indices of animation.

We of the vivacious Left take justifiable pride when we consider the contributions we have made to the changing climate over the land. This letter is from a group of East Hollywooders, some of whom have been doing foot-in-the-door work on a neighborhood level since the early Thirties.

David Seidman

Great force

PLAINFIELD, VT.

During the past few months, and particularly during the past few weeks, I have noted with great pleasure that the editors of the GUARDIAN appear to have initiated what seems to be a courageous, independent and fruitful re-examination of their policies. Along this road I think you can be a great force for the rebuilding of the American Left. I am therefore renewing my subscription, and adding a small contribution.

For your interest, I may mention some of the recent articles that I found especially good—Cliff McAveys letter, "Stay Independent," Oct. 10; the review of Aptheker's History and Reality, and Bendiner's article on Adlai Stevenson, Oct. 31; and the brilliant editorial "On Thoreau, Conformity and the Left Today," in the issue of Nov. 7.

You seem to have stimulated much vigorous thought during the two discussions on McManus's proposals for independent political action and on Tabitha Petran's valuable series on the economic outlook I hope you will continue to explore new lines of thought on the rebuilding of the socialist Left, and will encourage your readers to participate in thinking out these matters, which have too long been submerged.

Keep it up and I'll keep it coming!

Florence Woodard

Unemployment relief

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I am forwarding a year's extension of my subscription, carrying it to August, 1957. The reason is not only that the GUARDIAN is such mentally-stimulating and morally-inspiring reading, and to remain so it needs funds. but also that after a long siege of unemployment I want to guarantee myself such an essential publication against a recurrence of payless weeks in this era of dubious prosperity.

At the same time I am getting in step again with all the fine supporters of the GUARDIAN who are displaying such initiative in sustaining it. So you can expect occasional contributions in the future as in the most distant past.

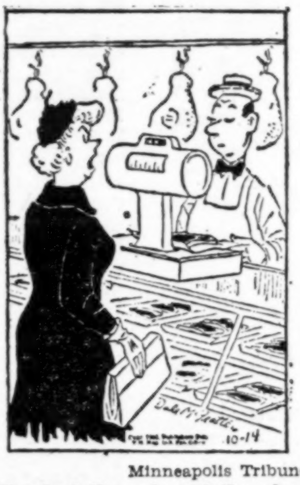
Frank Kondray

On arms to Egypt

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The letter of one Morris Cohen in your issue of Nov. 21 belongs in the "How Crazy Can You Get" dept. Any arms given to Egypt or any other Arab states will be used only for two purposes. One, to destroy Israel and to massacre the Jewish people a la Hitler; and second, to suppress any attempt by the peasants in their own lands to secure a better life. What happened to six million Jews in Europe cannot be allowed to happen to the people of Israel.

Jack Katz



Minneapolis Tribune

"I asked the price of the chop—not the shop!"

Short, sweet

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Enclosed find $5. A pleasure and a privilege. Good luck.

Annette Monblatt

Write to headquarters

KNOXVILLE, TENN.

We should all write to the Republican Natl. Committee to protest the lack of action on the Emmett Till murder. Election time is coming and, if the Negroes of the South are disfranchised, those in the North are not. They are on the move, and are going to fight for their rights in this country they have done so much to help build.

Its no use writing Eisenhower; no unpleasant thing is going to be brought to his attention now or ever. Brownell is never going to do anything either, except talk a bit; unless he is forced to do so by his own bosses. So we will have to put the pressure right on the Republican Natl. Committee.

Margaret McCauley

Protest Till murder

PARIS, FRANCE

The kidnap-murder of 14-year-old Emmett Till and the acquittal of his tormentors has shocked and horrified Europeans of all political tendencies and economic strata. The legal racism which this acquittal typifies raises memories here of Nazism's terror.

A protest petition was presented Nov. 5 to the U.S. Embassy by leading poets, artists, scientists, labor leaders and even members of the markedly racist Senate and the National Assembly.

At a mass meeting Nov. 4, speakers carefully distinguished between the America of the American people and that America whose legal monsters persecuted Oppenheimer and destroyed Willie McGee, the Martinsville Seven, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and now Emmett Till.

Famed poet, Vercors, in a message to the meeting, called on world opinion to aid those Americans who are fighting legal racism. Prominent Frenchmen who have joined the protest include Jean Cocteau and Georges Duhamel, of the Academie Francaise. producer Claude Autant-Lara; Yves Montand and Simone Signoret, current stars of the Paris version of Arthur Miller's "The Crucible"; Claude Roy, writer; Gerard Bauer, Academie Goncourt; Pierre Gascar, Rene Maran and Robert Merle, Prix Goncourt winners, and Aime Cesaire, poet and deputy.

Jean Schaeffer, secy. of the Confedn. General du Travail, which represents 70% of all French workers, called on workers of Europe and the U.S. to join in waging a common struggle to defeat hysteria and its offspring, racism.

Virgil Hilyard

Ice cream for C. B.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Enclosed please find $3 for my next year's subscription and $2 for ice cream for my beloved friend, Cedric Belfrage. You may say that you have no spoon long enough to reach across the ocean. Well hold onto the balance. I'm in hopes for the day that I'll shake hands with him in the office of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN as I did two years ago. Some people may wonder how the Washington gangsters could pull off such a stunt. I simply tell them by repeating my slogan that I composed: namely, in the home of the brave and the land of the free, where Negroes may be lynched by a judge's decree everything is possible and nothing will surprise me.

H. F.

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Vol. 8, No. 7 178 DECEMBER 5, 1955

REPORT TO READERS

Sound sense from a sage

As promised, here are excerpts from the keynote address of Dr. W. E B. DuBois at the Seventh Birthday Dinner of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN Nov. 17 at the Hotel New Yorker.

TRUTH MAKES US FREE and lack of it enslaves us. Yet we have become accustomed to expect to have truth furnished us daily for five cents, at the hands of makers of clothes, cigarettes and toothpaste, who pay its main costs.

When we slowly awake to the fact that much of the real news never reaches us, much is deliberately misinterpreted, we contemplate gathering our own news and drawing our own conclusions from fact and honest thinkers and writers. It is then that gatherings like this take place, where it is discovered that this reformed and honest newsgathering and this uncoerced thinking does not, cannot be made to, pay.

BUT WHAT DOES "PAY" MEAN in this situation? If we mean that money invested by subscribers in the GUARDIAN does not bring you a cash return, how did you ever think it could or would? Such returns from newspapers today come to liars, comedians, exhibitionists and advertisers.

If, however, you mean by return for your subscription what the GUARDIAN gives you and the nation to make life worth living and democratic government possible, then manifestly the returns are enormous. . . . They consist in freedom of speech, in the right to travel, in the chance to think and teach, in the right to refuse to become liars and tale-bearers as proof of loyalty; in fact, the right to be civilized and by civilized paths to rise to higher culture and escape the barbarism of war.

THIS SORT OF ENTERPRISE pays tremendously, but it may not pay cash dividends to private gamblers, to be spent in silly luxury and in social power which its owners have not sense enough to use. . . .

If the average American is not wise enough of his own accord to get at the truth, those Americans who are wise enough will eagerly hasten to invest in guides to national freedom and culture, so as to save this nation from disaster. If they succeed, it will be an investment which will pay greater dividends than the new Ford stock. . . .

THE SUPPORT OF A TRUTHFUL PRESS must come from you who are aware of the crucifixion of truth and honesty in this land, of the suffering and starvation in most of the world; and who have awakened from the myth that assumes that those who make money out of concealing the truth are going to pay newspapers like **PM**, the **Compass** and the GUARDIAN to expose them—while you continue to get the facts for nothing.

The people who ought to know the truth will not pay for the knowledge until they know the truth. They will not listen unless and until they believe in the tellers.

In the fatal interval, who will pay?

You will, or those whom you persuade: or the truth will not be told and the triumph of falsehood and evil will live longer and men will suffer.

—W. E. B. Du BOIS

•

THE FRIENDS OF THE GUARDIAN who heard Dr. Du Bois's speech responded most generously—and so have many, many others—to help meet the obligations which remain after our seventh year of publication and give us a start on Vol. VIII. The most of you who cannot come to big-city affairs will find your own way to acknowledge the sound sense of Dr. Du Bois' appeal on the GUARDIAN's behalf. We hope to hear from you soon.

—THE GUARDIAN

WAR & PEACE *THE MEANING OF GENEVA*

Setback to West brings 'hidden' foreign policy crisis

By Tabitha Petran

IN the wake of the Geneva Conference, Washington was experiencing what the Alsop brothers (11/27) called "a sort of hidden crisis of foreign policy." The crisis resulted from the fact that Geneva was a significant setback to the West's "policy of strength," and, above all, as **Le Monde** (11/18) pointed out, "to American diplomacy which was revealed as powerless to achieve the unification of Germany," its long and loudly-proclaimed goal.

In the U.S., the crisis was largely hidden behind demands for an intensification of the "cold war," and the concerted attack on the Democratic Party leadership on the original "spirit of Geneva." (It "didn't amount to a damn," said former President Truman, chanting his party's theme song: "The Russians understand only force.")

If Washington's policy of "military containment" had reached "the end of a dead-end street," as James P. Warburg, a long time critic of that policy, declared in a letter to the **N. Y. Times** (11/22), there was no visible disposition to "back out or turn around," or even to debate the advisability of so doing. However much Republicans or Democrats might snipe at the way the "policy of strength" was being carried out, they were both committed to uncritical bipartisan silence on the policy itself.

SMALL CHANGE: When does the real debate begin?" asked the **N. Y. Post** (11/21). ". . . to deny that there are legitimate areas of debate in foreign policy is to accept the premise of totalitarian diplomacy."

In face of the acknowledged deterioration of U.S. influence in Western Europe, the Middle East and South East Asia, Washington planned "small change in present policies" (**Business Week**, 11/26); and Sen. George (D-Ga.) insisted that "regardless of who wins or loses in 1956 our foreign program will go on substantially as is." Washington's strategy, **Newsweek** (11/28) explained, is to "keep holding the line against Communism not only in Europe but everywhere in the world."

While Washington thus clung to rigid policies—left behind by events even before Geneva—the situation with which these policies were designed to deal was changing even further as a result of Geneva. Refusal of the Western three to negotiate at Geneva (even the British Manchester **Guardian**, 11/16, complained of the West's "clumsiness and lack of candor" and its "farcical" security proposals) did not frighten Moscow; apparently the Western delegations had believed, up to the conference's last day, that it would. Nor did the refusal erect insuperable roadblocks to Soviet diplomacy, which—unlike Western diplomacy—is flexible, maintains alternatives and room for maneuver.

A WORRIED MACMILLAN: Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov, far from pessimistic at the conference's outcome, declared it had been "helpful in drawing the attention of public opinion to the most urgent problems of our times and cannot but have a positive effect." British Foreign Minister Macmillan complained: "What worries me is that the Soviet Union does not seem to mind our failures."

The reason for Western worry was suggested by the Paris **France-Soire's** comment: "The era of Big Four Conferences has ended, that of the conversations of two has begun." Two-power talks had already taken place in Moscow with Finland, and with Norway, a NATO member; others are to be held between Britain and the U. S. S. R. in London next spring. The French visit to Moscow, postponed following France's walkout from the UN over Algeria, will probably be re-scheduled now that France has returned.

Soviet conversations with both East and West Germany are also clearly in the cards. The Free Democrats, second largest party in Bonn Chancellor Adenauer's governing coalition, threatened, after Geneva, to quit the coalition if Bonn did not agree to direct talks with Moscow on unification.

OPPOSITION GROWING: Although Adenauer would retain a majority without them, his policies are increasingly under attack, the opposition is growing. Furthermore, as the Christian Science **Monitor** pointed out (11/16):

> "Germans are even now in process of implementing from below those direct contacts between East and West Germany which the Soviets have long advocated but which Bonn and the Western powers rejected. . . . Areas of practical day to day co-operation between East and W. Germany are steadily increasing. . . . The Soviets are convinced that in this process which takes place behind the backs of, and against the express wishes of the policy of the West, it is W. Germany that is moving nearer to the East, not vice versa."

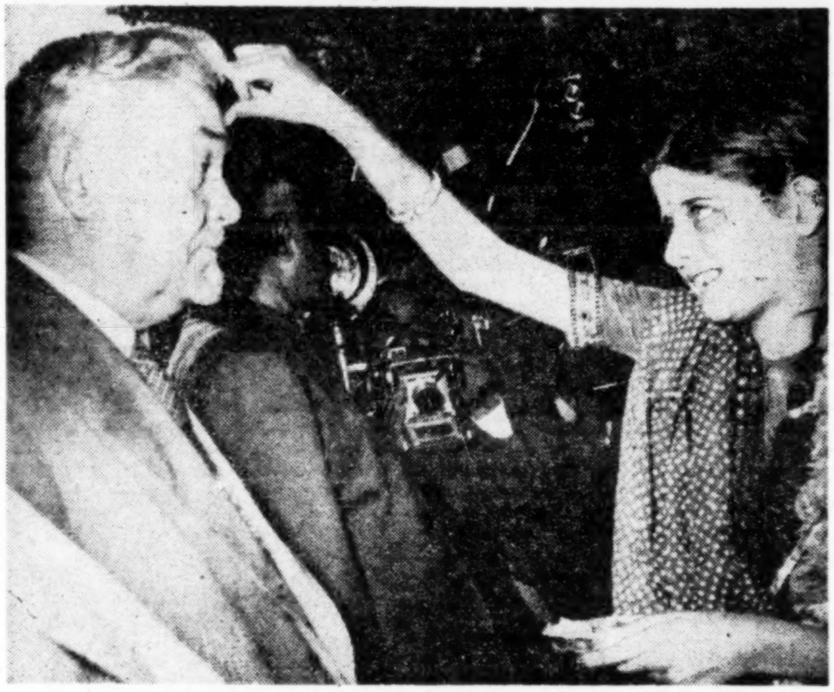
Meanwhile, with the cost of living rising in West Germany and workers being laid off in some industries, the flow from West to East Germany of workers, small farmers, technicians and doctors has in recent months about equalled in size the highly advertised flow of E. German shopkeepers and youth to the West. In the not improbable event of an economic crisis and unemployment in W. Germany, wrote **Le Monde** (11/12),

> ". . . people will think of their brothers in the East, where the regime at least provides work for everyone, and after that they will think of the Soviet Union and of the immense market of China. Fear of the Reds will be greatly lessened, because the relaxation of tension is convincing many people, even in Germany, that the Russians are no different from anyone else."

A PRECEDENT IS SET: Moscow's "conversations of two" are not limited to Europe. The diplomatic journey of the U. S. S. R.'s two top leaders—Bulganin and Khrushchev—to India, Burma and Afghanistan is without precedent and cannot fail to have a profound impact throughout all Asia. London's **New Statesman** pointed out (11/26):

> "For the first time, Soviet leaders have been officially received in a non-Communist country as friends, even as allies, in a common struggle against colonialism and war."

Events at Geneva, and since, underline the operation and growing strength of the forces which finally compelled the Western powers to sit down with the U. S. S. R. at the conference table last July, the forces which generated the Geneva spirit. The slow shift of the world balance of power against the Western colonial countries is continuing. Hence, Western efforts to intensify the cold war are meeting mounting difficulties.



A mark of honor for the Soviet premier in India

Marshal Bulganin is greeted by a young Indian girl in Agra on his 18-day trip with Nikita Krushchev. Great crowds are greeting the Russian visitors, who are returning Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union last summer.

RADIOACTIVE STRONTIUM: The West's lack of any policy to cope with the increasingly fluid world situation has become ever more apparent. This bankruptcy is glaring, for example, on the question of disarmament. U. S. Atomic Energy Commissioner Thomas E. Murray, recently called for explosion of a U. S. H-bomb as "a show of force, a declaration of American power, a demonstration of the strategy of the deterrent." He revealed that the menace of the H-bomb is far greater than had been thought. Thermonuclear explosions, he said, have created a new substance—radioactive strontium—whose contamination lasts long after the bomb explosion, settles into soil, food and enters into human beings with harmful and fatal effects. He underscored the fact that

> ". . . there is a limit to the tolerable amount of radiostrontium that can be deposited in the soil. Consequently there is a limit to the number of large thermonuclear explosions that the human race can withstand without harmful bodily effects."

THE ATOMIC DEBATE: Yet the Western powers have resisted all efforts in the UN to ban such explosions pending further knowledge of their effects; and now they refuse even to discuss disarmament and elimination and control of nuclear weapons. At the same time, the Western military establishment is being geared so entirely to nuclear weapons that soon no other type of war will be able to be fought.

Meetings of the UN Disarmament Commission, following the Geneva conference, found the Western powers claiming that control of nuclear weapons has become virtually impossible; hence efforts must be directed at inspection plans, so-called warning systems rather than arms reduction and banning of mass destruction weapons.

Hypocricy achieved possibly a new level when the Western powers accused the U. S. S. R. of blocking progress by its refusal to accept the Eden plan for a "pilot system" demilitarized zone on both sides of the East-West line in Germany. The fact is that Molotov at Geneva not only accepted this plan but made it more comprehensive: he proposed creation of a "zone of limitation and inspection of armaments" to include the territory of both East and West Germany and "those of all or some neighboring states." The West promptly withdrew the Eden plan the moment Molotov accepted it—a fact headlined in some W. European papers but totally ignored here.

WON'T STAY BURIED: Western strategy, as revealed during the Disarmament Commission meetings, is to win Assembly approval for a continuation of the five-power (U.. S., U. S. S. R., Britain, France, Canada) sub-committee where, it is hoped, the whole question again will be buried from public view. The West's greatest fear is public debate of its policy of relying on nuclear weapons and public knowledge of what that implies.

The outlawing of such weapons is a matter of self-preservation for the West, as for the rest of the world. In comment on a recent U. S. Chemical Corps report urging full-scale development of chemical, biological and radiological warfare, the **NYT**'s Hanson Baldwin (11/18) wrote:

> "The U. S. emphasis on massive retaliation and on nuclear strategy, underscored now by recommendations about germ, gas and radiological warfare . . . have cost us heavily and will cost us more heavily in the future in the psychological struggle. . . . The U. S. cannot afford to be on the side of the devil. . . . And more important, any way in which unlimited slaughter is implied is unlimited madness. . . ."

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JIMCROW BY ANY OTHER NAME . . .

Survey reveals worst schools in N.Y. in minority areas

By Eugene Gordon

IN A "STRICTLY LEGAL" sense, says a report just issued by the Public Education Assn. (120 W. 40th St., N. Y. C.), there is no such thing as jimcrow in New York's school system. The report deplores the fact that 445 out of 639 elementary schools surveyed (71%) enroll 90% or more Negro and Puerto Rican children, "or 90% or more children of other ethnic origins"; but no criticism is made of the Board of Education for the situation.

The reason is that jimcrow, in legal terms, implies "legislative discrimination against a minority group"; and neither the law nor "the rules and stated policy" of the board even hint at jimcrowing Negro and Puerto Rican pupils from "continental white" pupils.

TWO QUESTIONS: The questions one hoped the survey would answer, therefore, are these:

- Who is responsible for what does exist?
- Aren't jimcrow schools by any other name just as bad?

The fact that they are just as bad is what started the investigation. Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, assoc. prof. of Psychology at City College, raised the question, a month after the U. S. Supreme Court's anti-jimcrow public school decision last year, with charges that:

> - A serious teacher turnover existed in N. Y. C. schools where most of the children are Negro and Puerto Rican.
> - There was a discrepancy, in the same schools, between the number of classes for the mentally retarded and for brilliant children.
> - Educational standards in Negro and Puerto Rican schools are lower and facilities inadequate.
> - School officials sometimes gerrymander districts to create jimcrow schools.

SURVEY AND THE PRESS: The task of investigating the charges, to help "all concerned in the attainment of the ultimate goal, the completely integrated school," was assigned by Board of Education pres. Arthur Levitt to the PEA. Assisted by N. Y. University's Research Center for Human Relations, the PEA questioned principals and asst. superintendents; dug into Board of Education reports and files and read U. S. Census reports and the reports of PEA volunteer investigators. After a year's such work it published **The Status of the Public School Education of Negro and Puerto Rican Children in New York.**

Although most press stories on the report, as the Negro weekly **Amsterdam News** observed, "told what segregation was and [insisted] that local schools had no segregation," the bare facts, as the Teachers Union **Teacher News** points out,

> ". . . reveal that the Board of Education provides the worst education in the city for the underprivileged minority children and has failed to adopt any policy promoting integration."

THERE IS NO POLICY OF PROMOTING INTEGRATION LIKE THIS
That's the charge the Teacher's Union made against the city

THE FINDINGS: Here are facts from the PEA report:

- **"On the average, facilities in [Negro-Puerto Rican] schools are older and less adequate than those in [continental white] schools."** Age of Negro-Puerto Rican elementary school buildings average 43 years, junior high, 35 years; average age of white J-H school buildings, 15 years. Negro-Puerto Rican elementary schools average less floor space and less playground space than white elementary schools.
- **"On the average, [Negro-Puerto Rican] schools are not as well maintained as [white] schools."** The first are older; "but renovations and painting . . . have, nonetheless, not always compensated for this disadvantage." White elementary schools have averaged 9.8 years without renovation; average for non-white, 17.2 years. For the white J-H the average is .7 years; for non-white, 4.3. Some school buildings are so antiquated that they operate "to the disadvantage of the educational efforts being made."

TEACHER COMPETENCE: What of "teacher turnover?"

> "If tenure, probationary and substitute status are measures of competency, [teachers in Negro-Puerto Rican schools] are not as competent as [teachers in white schools], because fewer of the [Negro-Puerto Rican] teachers are on tenure and more of them have probationary or substitute status. Also [Negro-Puerto Rican] teacher turnover is more rapid. . . ."

If Negro-Puerto Rican schools receive more special services than white schools, it is because "they have more special classes"—the mentally retarded, for instance, to which greater attention is paid than to the gifted. Non-white schools have more classes for the mentally retarded than have the white.

The survey asks: "Is the average per pupil achievement in [Negro-Puerto Rican] schools the same as in [white] schools?" It answers that since most standardized tests (in certain specified grades) are only reading and arithmetic, the question is "unfair." However, "such judgments have been made and the accusation implied in them must be answered: . . . [Negro-Puerto Rican] children do not test so high in general ability as [white] children." But

> ". . . the very fact that a child does not do well in a general ability test might in itself be a sympton of instructional weakness."

BOUNDARIES DON'T MATTER: "Is there segregation?" the survey asks. "Do the zoning practices favor separation of Negro and Puerto Rican groups in the schools?" It answers that, being "neighborhood schools" and reflecting "the ethnic composition of the school district,

> ". . . as long as the principle of neighborhood schools persists, in the central areas of homogeneous ethnic communities it is immaterial, from the point of composition of the school, where the school boundary lines are drawn, [for] the school in the center of Harlem will be a Negro school."

The "permissive area" within a school district gives residents a choice of schools. White children in such areas may themselves choose or may be pressured into choosing a more distant school of their own "extraction." The survey found "no significant evidence to indicate that ethnic separation is seriously considered in drawing school district boundary lines"; found likewise that it is "not overall school policy to encourage integration through zoning." Yet,

> ". . . because of residential separation by ethnic groups, the priciple of proximity to the school in school districting has resulted in a situation where in only 30% of the schools do appreciable numbers of Negro and Puerto Rican children contact continental white children."

THE CONCLUSION: Three conclusions emerge:

- Jimcrow schools, whether by legislation or "residential separation," are proved by the survey to be undesirable.
- Integrated housing is a step in the right direction of integrated schools.
- The Board of Education, by doing nothing in areas where it has authority, must be held partly to blame.

A Parable for Liberals

ONCE UPON A TIME the mice got worried because so many of them were being eaten by cats. So they held a conference. One wise old mouse said: "We have got to use our voting strength. I suggest that at the next election we cast our votes 100% for the Black Cats." His suggestion made sense—it was carried out—and the Black Cats won by a landslide.

But the cats still ate mice, and another conference was called.

A hot-headed young mouse got up and complained they had been double-crossed by the Black Cats and said it was time for a change. He carried the day and under the slogan: "Throw the Rascals Out," they delivered their voting strength to the White Cats who won by a landslide.

The cats still ate mice under the White Cat regime, and the mice were desperate.

At the next conference, after long debate, they decided upon a strict nonpartisan policy of reward your friends and punish your enemies.

If a White Cat promised to be their friend, they voted for him; a Black Cat could also get their vote if he promised to be a friend.

The new policy didn't work. The cats continued to devour the mice. At the next conference a mouse who had done a lot of thinking, said: "Why don't we elect mice?"

It was such a simple idea that it shocked the mice, because all simple ideas are shocking. But the more they thought about it the better it sounded.

So they adopted a policy of voting for mice. Since they outnumbered the cats they won easily—and that's the end of the story, because the cats stopped eating the mice.

—W. S. Townsend, **Pittsburgh Courier**

Gift-shop early
—See Pages 6-7

THE KENTUCKY CASES

Carl Braden appeals sedition sentence; other trials put off

FORMAL NOTICE of appeal in Kentucky's Braden sedition case was filed in Frankfort on Nov. 16; the defense has 30 days from that date to file a brief outlining the grounds for the appeal. Carl Braden, free in $40,000 bail, is under a 15-year sentence and a $5,000 fine for "advocating sedition" because he helped a Negro family buy a home in an all-white neighborhood in Louisville.

Six others indicted in the case including Mrs. Anne Braden, on Nov. 14 had their trials postponed until May 14, 1956, presumably to await the outcome of the Carl Braden appeal. The Kentucky case is also involved in the case of Steve Nelson, convicted under a similar sedition statute in Pennsylvaia, which is now before the Supreme Court. Nelson's conviction was overturned by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court on the ground that the Smith Act of 1940 superseded the state law; if that ruling is upheld similar statutes in 42 states (including Kentucky) will be invalidated.

THE BACKGROUND: The Braden case began in May, 1954, when the Braden's bought a home and signed it over to Andrew E. Wade Jr., a Negro veteran. When the Wades moved in they came under physical attack; six white friends came to their defense. On June 27, 1954, a crude dynamite bomb exploded under the house, partially destroying it. Police made no effort to find the dynamiters; instead a grand jury indicted the Bradens and the other five. One of them, Vernon Bown, a trade unionist, was specifically charged with causing the explosion even though it was proved he was in Milwaukee when it occurred.

Braden was convicted after a 13-day trial last December and spent eight months in the La Grange Reformatory before his excessive bail could be raised.

Braden was a guest of honor and a principal speaker at the NATIONAL GUARDIAN's seventh anniversary banquet in New York City on Nov. 17.

ANN and CARL BRADEN
The day he got out of prison

RESISTANCE GROWS IN SOUTH AFRICA

French North Africa: tension is still high

By Kumar Goshal

THE COLONIAL POWERS are making their last desperate fight in Africa, where the freedom struggle is following the pattern set in Asia. They are relaxing control where forced to do so. But, ignoring recent lessons of history, elsewhere they are trying to suppress the freedom struggle by force, or by buying time with minute concessions. But the handwriting is on the wall.

French North Africa

The French last month were forced to restore Sultan ben Youssef to Morocco's throne. France's self-inflicted humiliation was symbolized in the way her staunchest ally, the Pasha el Glaoui of Marrakesh, made his peace with the Sultan. Finding his Berber tribesmen joining the other Moroccans fighting for freedom, el Glaoui, who had helped the French dethrone the Sultan, begged on his knees for ben Youssef's forgiveness. The Sultan put him on probation.

MORE PATIENCE: Ben Youssef's return has not ended the Moroccans' struggle. He has promised to establish a democratic "constitutional monarchy" and negotiate a new treaty with France; but he has also urged patience. France is insisting on "permanent ties" with Morocco, and is keeping control of the army, the police and Morocco's foreign policy.

As new Resident General to Morocco, Paris sent Andre Dubois, whose qualification for the post seemed to be

> ". . . his work as prefect of police in silencing auto horns and making the towing away of illegally parked cars generally acceptable." (**Christian Science Monitor**, 11/10).

With four air bases in Morocco, Washington was also watching ben Youssef; but the N. Y. **Times** (11/20) found "no signs that [the Sultan] will make trouble" over the bases.

SITUATION UNCLEAR: Ben Youssef has offered no economic policy so far. The big popular Istiqlal Party has thus far remained aloof. The French settlers have not tipped their hand. Conservative Moroccans and reactionary chieftains who bitterly oppose the Istiqlal have supported ben Youssef because, as **CSM** said (11/10),

> ". . . they see in him the best means of slowing down the tidal wave of nationalism sweeping the world's backward areas, including Morocco."

WELL, KISS MY FOOT . . .
. . . if it isn't old El Glaoui

Considering the unanimous demand for the Sultan's reinstatement, his homecoming evoked less than the expected wild popular jubilation. After winning the first round, Moroccans apparently were wondering if a feudal ruler, however pro-Nationalist, would undertake the sweeping economic and political reforms necessary for full freedom.

TUNISIA RESTLESS: Peace has not yet come to other parts of French N. Africa. In Tunisia last month the Neo-Destour party held its first legal congress since 1938, with 2,000 delegates present. Bitter conflict raged between the party's president Habib Bourguiba and its secy. gen. Salah ben Youssef. The latter criticized Bourguiba for hailing as a great victory the limited autonomy France has granted Tunisia and demanded renewed struggle for full independence.

Bourguiba, recently back from exile, weathered the attack only by using his immense personal prestige and agreeing that he too was not satisfied with mere internal autonomy. But the conflict split the party; ben Youssef was expelled and set about to enlist support of party locals.

In Algeria, the struggle for independence countinued unabated.

Union of South Africa

A different kind of struggle in the Union of S. Africa has intensified since a Freedom Charter was proclaimed by the People's Congress last June.

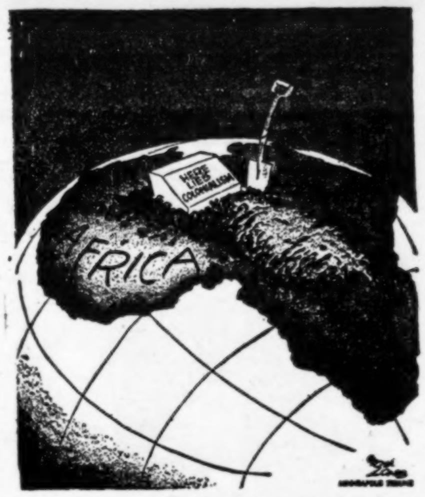
On Sept. 27, according to **Reuters**, Prime Minister Strijdom's police raided homes and offices of hundreds of S. Africans—including whites and Indians—in a nationwide hunt for evidence of treason or sedition. Among the organizations raided were the Civil Rights League, the African Natl. Congress, the S. African Indian Congress, the Women's Fedn., the Colored People's Organization and the Trade Union Congress. Among homes searched were those of former MP Sam Kahn and Anglican minister Rev. Trevor Huddleston, a severe critic of Strijdom's segregation policy. Police confiscated tons of documents, telegrams, account books and even typewriters.

PRESS CENSORSHIP: The Strijdom government has imposed a strict censorship on the press. It has banned over 1,500 publications, including comic book biographies of Davy Crockett and American Negro athletes, and all American Negro magazines. Penalties for possession of proscribed books run to fines of $2,800 or five years' imprisonment.

The Press [censorship] Commission has required local newspapers to answer a detailed questionnaire and to disclose financial and operational information. It was reported to be considering licensing foreign correspondents.

The Strijdom government has illegally annexed the mandated territory of S-W Africa, and pressed for the annexation of the neighboring British protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, promising them "the same sympathetic treatment . . . given to Negro areas within the Union of S. Africa."

GUNS, PLEASE: Strijdom has taken over the British naval base of Simonstown, invited Britain, France, Belgium and Portugal to form an alliance to defend Africa, and has requested U. S. arms aid "to resist Communist aggression." **CSM** reported (10/11) that "skeptics say S. Africa's desire for military strengthening" is also for "security against an internal flare-up on the African continent against its race policies."



Long in Minneapolis Tribune
FINAL RESTING PLACE

Six weeks ago the Strijdom government began issuing identity cards to whites over 16, as well as to non-whites. At the same time, under pressure from industrialists and white farm owners, it amended the segregation laws to continue providing them with cheap non-white labor.

Unable to muster a two-thirds parliamentary majority required for constitutional changes, the Nationalist Party until now has been frustrated in its efforts to remove the Colored voters from the electoral rolls and to make parliament unanswerable to the courts. By changing the Senate electoral laws, Strijdom's Nationalists last month elected enough of their candidates to secure the necessary two-thirds majority in parliament. Asserting that the Nationalist Party head "now rules the country," the Rand **Daily Mail** (11/25) wondered why the party would bother "to go through the formality of voting" any more.

Resistance was mounting in S. Africa. Despite threats, confiscation and arrests, the Freedom Charter was being circulated and progressive literature published. Thousands of white women, who believe in racial segregation, have nevertheless been demonstrating against Strijdom's Senate-packing measure.

A showdown in S. Africa cannot be indefinitely postponed.

IT WAS NONE OF JOE'S BUSINESS

Harvey O'Connor fined $500, 1-yr. sentence suspended; he'll appeal contempt conviction

HARVEY O'CONNOR, author, publicist and an old-line free-thinking American, on the evening of Nov. 17 told the seventh anniversary banquet of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN in New York City that he was ashamed for his country because it had banished GUARDIAN editor Cedric Belfrage.

Next morning, in a federal courtroom in Washington, D. C., O'Connor himself was fined $500 and given a one-year suspended sentence for the same "crime" charged against Belfrage: defiance of Joe McCarthy's inquisition. He too might have been banishd except for his foresight in being native-born.

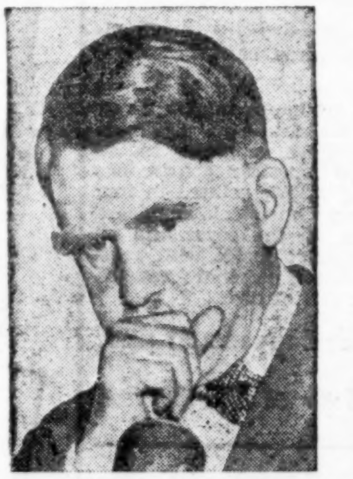
O'Connor was summoned by McCarthy on July 14, 1953, because, without his knowledge, books he had written had been placed on the shelves of overseas libraries of the U. S. Information Agency. McCarthy was unconcerned about the contents of the books, even boasted that he hadn't read them. But he demanded to know if O'Connor had been a part of the "communist conspiracy" when he wrote them.

ISSUE DODGED: O'Connor refused to answer on the ground that his privacy of opinion was protected by the First Amendment. Three months later he was indicted for contempt of Congress, was tried without a jury before Judge Joseph C. McGarraghy in October this year. McCarthy as the major witness accused him of being a "paid Communist propagandist." O'Connor offered to answer the key question if so directed by the court, but Judge McGarraghy said he didn't have to. Outside the court O'Connor freely told reporters that he had never been a Communist.

But the Judge dodged this issue. On Nov. 15 he denied a motion for acquittal. He held that Congress has a right to examine the execution of all governmental programs, and that since books had been selected as one means of carrying out the overseas information program it followed that

> ". . . as one of the most direct means of determining if these books are productive of the avowed purpose, Congress has the power to examine the authors of books being used, to determine if those authors were members of the Communist conspiracy at any time they wrote those books."

ABRIDGEMENT: He further ruled that "the facts justifying pertinency [of questioning authors] also justify the abridgement of the defendant's rights under the First Amendment. . . ."



HARVEY O'CONNOR
It was a pretty hard blow

O'Connor's lawyers, Gerhard P. Van Arkel of Washington and Leonard Boudin of New York, promptly announced they would appeal when O'Connor was sentenced on Nov. 18. O'Connor said the only reason he was in court was because he had written books:

> "I feel somewhat like an innocent bystander caught in the brawl between the Senator and, as he calls it, the old Acheson State Dept. I was a bystander and I got hit pretty badly on the head. . . . The First Amendment is the crux of this case—freedom of writers to write books. It is the only question involved here."

O'Connor is the author of the official history of the CIO Oil Workers Intl. Union, and several volumes on U. S. business giants, among them **The Astors, The Guggenheims** and **Mellon's Millions.** His latest volume, just published, is **The Empire of Oil.**

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—George Evans
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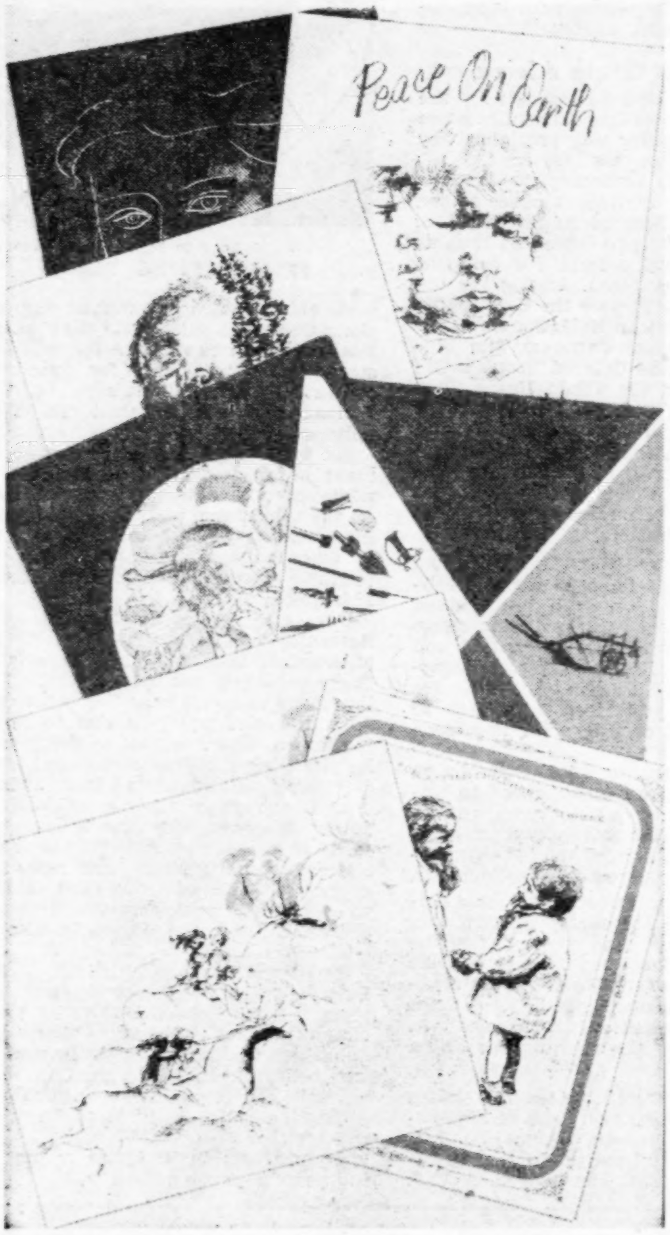

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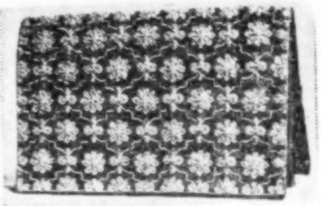

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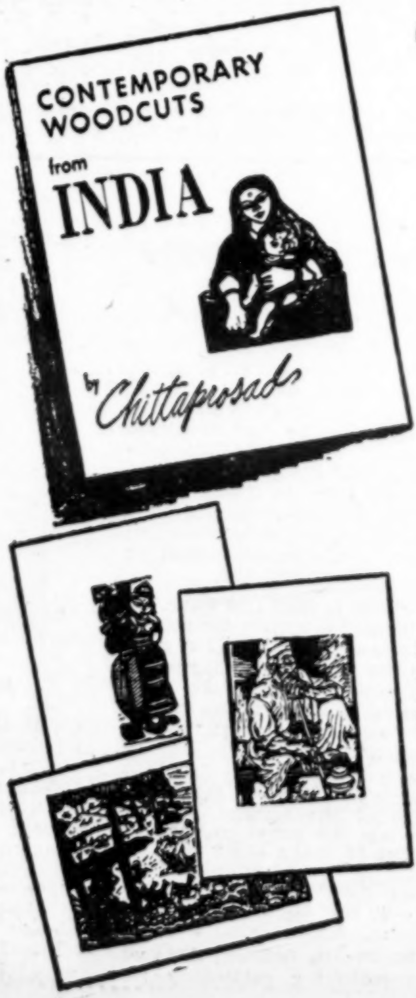

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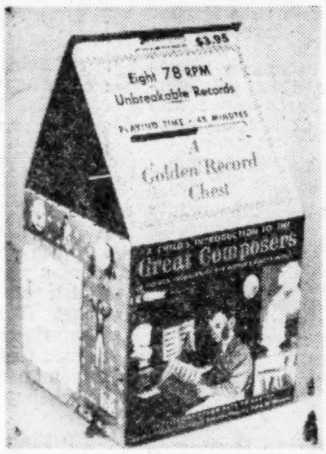

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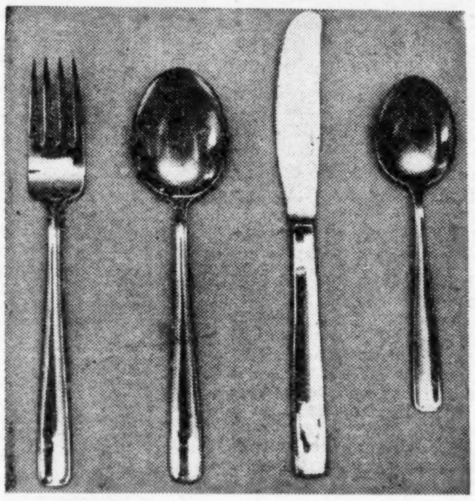

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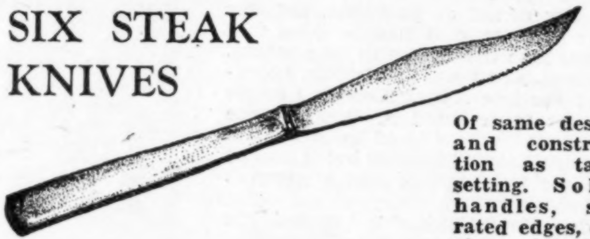

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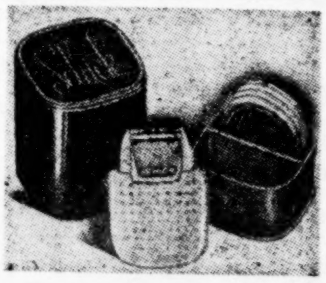

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YOUNGDAHL RULES

State Dept. must reveal all evidence in passport denials

GOVERNMENT by secret informer received its heaviest blow yet on Nov. 22 when Federal District Judge Luther W. Youngdahl ruled that the State Dept. must reveal all information and evidence upon which it bases a denial of a passport. He ordered the Passport Office to grant N.Y. attorney Leonard Boudin a hearing within 20 days in which it makes available all its evidence so that he "may have the opportunity to meet it and the court to review it."

Judge Youngdahl struck at the informer system with these words:

> "When the basis of action by any branch of the Government remains hidden from scrutiny and beyond practical review the seeds of arbitrary and irresponsible government are sown. More and more the courts have become aware of the irreparable damage which may be, has been, and is wrought by the secret informer and the faceless talebearer whose identity and testimony remains locked in confidential files."

OUT IN THE OPEN: Courts have recently chipped away at the State Dept.'s arbitrary denial of passports, but this is the first time it has been ordered to come into the open with its evidence. In the case of Dr. Otto Nathan, executor of the late Albert Einstein's estate (he was represented by Boudin), the Department was ordered to grant him a "quasi-judicial" hearing but it ducked the issue by granting him a passport without a hearing.

Judge Youngdahl also asserted the right of Americans to travel abroad:

> "It must now be accepted that travel abroad is more than a mere privilege accorded American citizens. It is a right, an attribute of personal liberty, which may not be infringed upon or limited in any way unless there be full compliance with the requirements of due process."

JUDICIAL QUESTIONS: Boudin was given a limited passport in 1954; at that time he filed an affidavit that he was not then a member of the Communist Party. Later, when he sought removal of the passport limitations, he was asked to file an affidavit that he had never been a CP member; he declined. The Passport Office wrote him on Feb. 24, 1955:

> "Evidence has been obtained that you are a member of the Communist Party, and reports of your activities in recent years indicate that if your membership was terminated it was under such circumstances as warrant the conclusion, not otherwise rebutted by the evidence, that you continue to act in the furtherance and under the discipline of the Communist Party."

Judge Youngdahl asked these questions:

> "How can an applicant refute charges which arise from sources, or are based upon evidence, which is closed to him? What good does it do him to be apprised that a passport is denied him due to associations or activities disclosed or inferred from State Department files even if he is told of the associations and activities in a general way? What files? What evidence? Who made the inferences? From what materials were those inferences made? To uphold [the passport regulation] would grant to the Government the right to deny passports in an uncontrolled manner, with virtually absolute authority, at any time and in any way it sees fit."

JUDGE YOUNGDAHL
. . . not a mere privilege . . .

BLOODSHED IN BELZONI

3d Negro who sought to vote shot in Mississippi; FBI reported in

MISSISSIPPI'S THIRD shooting this year of a Negro who wanted to vote occurred at the same place as the first, Belzoni, and again the victim is an NAACP leader. He is Gus Courts, 65, felled by a shotgun blast through the window of his small grocery store as he, his wife and a customer stood near the cash register on the night of Nov. 25. The Rev. George W. Lee, the first victim, was trying to round up Negro votes for the Democratic primary last May when he was shot to death from a passing car. In August Lamar Smith was killed at the Lincoln County Court House.

Courts survived his shooting and was rushed to the all-Negro town of Mound Bayou 80 miles north of Belzoni for an emergency operation. He told the N. Y. **Post**:

> "They said I was agitating to put Negroes in the white schools, but that ain't so. I was just agitating for the vote. I felt I ought to have my rights."

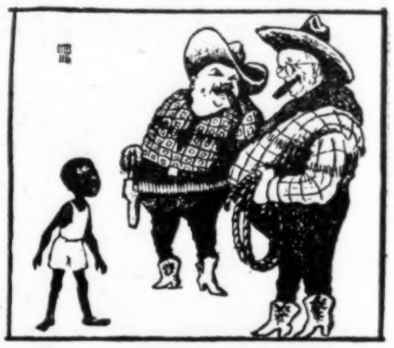
THE SQUEEZE: He and Mrs. Courts already were undergoing the economic squeeze applied by the White Citizens Councils to militant Negroes. Recently he had been forced to move his store by a Citizens Council member. Wholesalers in the community had refused to sell goods to him, and cotton planters wouldn't hire field hands transported in Courts' trucks. Before the shooting he was not interested in moving North, he said, because everything he had was in Mississippi. But in the hospital at Mound Bayou, Courts said:

> "My wife is afraid to stay in Belzoni, and I can't say for sure now that I won't sell and move. It's bad when you know you might get shot just walking around or in your store. That's a hard kind of life to lead."

He told the reporter that about 20 Negroes went to vote in the July primary in 1954, "but instead of giving us ballots they gave us questionnaires," with such queries as "Do you believe in integration?" and "Why do you want to vote Democratic?" Gus Courts told a reporter:

> "I'm 65 years old and I've never had the vote. That's all I wanted."

WHERE IS THE FBI? The FBI announced a "preliminary investigation" of the Courts shooting, following criticism from NAACP, trade unions, churches and other mass organizations for inactivity in other cases.



Mitelberg in Humanite, Paris
"Did you hear someone give a wolf-whistle?"

The Bronx Div. of the Protestant Council on Nov. 25, at the suggestion of the local NAACP, urged the FBI to investigate the kidnap-lynching of Emmett Louis Till, near Money, Miss., last Aug. 28. Noting that the 14-year-old Negro boy is still legally missing, according to a Mississippi jury's decision acquitting the alleged murderers, the Council said in a resolution to the Dept. of Justice:

> "If this opinion is correct, then, on the basis of previous FBI policy, further investigation would be warranted at this time."

READY TO TALK: The Baltimore **Afro-American**'s James L. Hicks (11/26) in a letter to Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell and the FBI's J. E. Hoover charged that a key Negro witness, Levi Collins, had been locked in the Charleston Miss., jail by Sheriff H. C. Strider prior to the trial of admitted kidnapers and alleged murderers J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant to prevent eyewitness testimony against them.

Hicks said the numerous acquaintances of Levi Collins are prepared to testify that they heard him boast of being present when Emmett Till was murdered and of helping the killers. Another witness, Henry Lee Loggins, was on Milam's truck, Hicks claims, when it was driven into the Milam barn carrying Emmett and "the four or more white men . . . who were involved in the kidnaping or murder."

Their testimony could be corroborated by Frank Young whose white woman employer has tried and failed to arrange for him to tell his story to law officers, Hicks wrote, adding that others are ready to testify if assured of protection.

Newspapermen called

(Continued from Page 1)

Time Magazine. Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) has carried over McCarthy's grudges. When McCarthy supporters denounced the "leftwing" press they rarely meant the **Daily Worker**; their prime target was the **Times** and its staff received the lion's share of Eastland's subpenas. Those summoned include a music critic and a number of highly-placed editors. Several composing room workers were also reported called.

COURT BATTLE: During the sub-committee's last attack on the press in July, CBS newscaster Winston Burdett submitted a list of newsmen he called "communist." Among them was **Times** copy editor Melvin Barnet, who said he was not a communist during his service on the **Times** but who took the Fifth Amendment in answering questions relating to earlier activities or associates.

Before Barnet was off the stand the **Times** announced he was fired. Similar action was taken by the **News** against one of its writers who refused to turn informer. The N.Y. Newspaper Guild pressed the matter to arbitration but the **Times** got an injunction after the **Times** and **News** units of the Guild voted (with most members abstaining) against fighting the firings.

On Nov. 21 State Supreme Court Justice Felix C. Benvenga heard arguments on whether arbitration on the Barnet case was required under the Guild contract. **Times** lawyers contended that the unit's failure to press the matter ended it. Guild spokesmen said the contract was between the **Times** and the Local, not the unit, and that the contract required arbitration. Dec. 1 was set for submission of final briefs.

While the case was pending, the Eastland sub-committee announced its second assault on the N.Y. press. For its D-day it originally chose the third week in November, "Freedom of the Press Week," but at the last moment postponed it, claiming that Sen. Eastland was suffering from influenza.

THE TIMES' CRIME: The targets were plainly seen in the subpenas: the Guild, particularly officials who had built in it in earlier years, the GUARDIAN and the **Times**. Along with the subpenas came a blistering attack from The Right Rev. John J. McMahon, Bishop of the Buffalo Diocese, who outlined the real charge against the **Times**.

Bishop McMahon criticized a speech by **Times** publisher Arthur Hays Sulzberger for espousing a doctrine "in which individual freedom can be a threat to our national well-being." The Bishop said:

> "This very articulate voice [the **Times**] proclaims that we must protect individual freedom to preserve democracy and avoid a 'tightly controlled society in which every dissenter, every man who wishes to think for himself, is enchained in a futile effort to insure conformity in the name of security.'
>
> "The **Times** decries the 'negative and sterile approach' of loyalty oaths, laments some of the anti-Red legislation and then calls upon Americans to distinguish between actual participants in the Red conspiracy and those who were duped by Red conspirators a decade or two ago. . . . In condoning subversives they are risking our country's neck."

NEW FIRINGS: The **Times** moved quickly to prove itself unworthy of the Bishop's charges. When the process servers arrived this time they were ushered into a conference room where they waited while the **Times** personnel department served staff members up to them.

Times officials were reported advising those with subpenas who had scruples about testifying about their associates to tell all in private to the FBI. They could then take the stand before the sub-committee, testify fully about themselves but decline to talk about others on grounds they had already given full information to the FBI.

When the **Times** fired Barnet in July it said it was for lack of candor, later amending the complaint to candid too late. On the current round at least two **Times** staff members confidentially and candidly informed management of their intention to take the Fifth on some questions. The axe fell more swiftly on them than it had on Barnet. Their candor brought immediate suspension well in advance of any testimony. When the hearings were postponed and the suspension threatened to continue indefinitely, they were fired solely on the basis of their confiding to the **Times** that they contemplated asserting their Constitutional rights at the inquisition.

REFERENDUM: The hearing is timed to coincide with a referendum to be launched in December among N. Y. Guildsmen on whether to

> ". . . resist the dismissal of all members discharged after invoking a constitutional privilege when asked by an authorized agency about Communist Party affiliation."

In face of the new assault and despite signs of capitulation by the publishers, newsmen were reportedly organizing the defense, recalling the routing of the Un-American Activities Committee by theater people in N. Y. earlier in the fall. Though no date has been set for public hearings they are expected to follow the "rehearsals" in closed session.

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AFL-CIO merger

(Continued from Page 1)

ment will reflect in many ways much of the spirit, the courage and the honesty of CIO."

Quill answered:

> "We cannot live in the 'hope' (an emotional term) as you say, that the new merged movement will reflect the spirit and honesty of CIO on the racial question. The Negroes of this country have lived 'in hopes' ever since they came off the galley ships; in this age of automation and jet propulsion, we should put the galley ship mentality behind us once and for all."

TRICKY WORDS: The discrimination clause in the new constitution establishes the principle "to encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color or national origin to share the full benefits of union organization." Far from wiping out jimcrow this could perpetuate the separate and less than equal treatment of Negroes now afforded by at least 17 large AFL unions.

That clause has stirred active protests from Negro unionists in many parts of the country who promise to mount a powerful lobby at the merger convention. Early in November, the Negro Trade Unionists Committee in New York rallied behind Quill's suggestion calling for "full membership rights" for Negroes in all unions; a Southern organizing drive for Negro and white workers, and election of Negroes to top posts. Michigan and Illinois workers backed the same program.

The Natl. Trade Union Committee for Racial Justice held a two-day rally in New York in November, under the chairmanship of A. Philip Randolph, president of the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It heard Sen. Lehman and others denounce jimcrow but recommended only a clause that would bar from membership anyone connected with racist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan or White Citizens' Councils. The Committee justified even that step by citing the ban on "Communist dominated" unions which is drafted in the sharpest, clearest language of the entire AFL-CIO constitution.

EASY ON DIXIE: On the question of organizing the unorganized—now two-thirds of the U.S. labor force—the AFL leaders controlling the new council are interested primarily in white-collar workers with perhaps a drive in oil and chemicals. N. Y. **Times** labor reporter A. H. Raskin, writing in the **New Leader,** forecast a velvet-glove approach to the South that would not offend "local customs":

> "The South will be another focus of attention but the new federation will eschew the 'Operation Dixie' approach that makes all the heirs of the Confederacy feel it is obligatory on them to take up arms to repel a new carpet-bag invasion."

Raiding is a built-in problem since the 145 organizations which will gather at the Armory have widely overlapping jurisdictions and each one's "integrity" is guaranteed for two years. A string of treaties will be needed to keep the peace and union leaders fear for their autonomy when the top brass begins to settle things after the grace period.

The fear of remote control by AFL-CIO brass made many hesitate. The Intl. Typographical Union rejoined the AFL in 1944 only after hands-off guarantees were given. ITU president Woodruff Randolph is alarmed again and has demanded amendments to weaken the "centralized control written into the proposed constitution." The ITU has officially declared:

> "If the rights and jurisdiction of the ITU are not violated the ITU will remain in the merged AFL and CIO for a minimum of two years (during which time the merger will succeed or fail)."

The union will make no binding commitment until its convention in 1957.

GEORGE MEANY and WALTER REUTHER

CLASHES TO COME: Other key questions are shrouded in lofty language. The new Constitution is resolutely against racketeering but provides no powers to drive gangsters out of control, in contrast with its right to demolish whole unions on the charge of "Communist domination." Craft and industrial unions are both to be considered "appropriate, equal and necessary," a formula which attempts to heal the vast split of two decades ago with a band-aid.

On top of the manifold clashes of principle built into the new organization there is the clash of personalities and ambitions to trouble the new movement. Meany will head the new federation and, observers feel, may dominate it. William Schnitzler, AFL secy.-treas., will have the same office in the new federation. The AFL will also have 17 vice-presidents, which will give it a two-thirds majority in the executive council. Walter Reuther will be one of the vice presidents and head of an "industrial union department." Next top post to go to a CIO man is that of organizing director, to be given to United Auto Workers' John W. Livingston.

COLD WAR POLITICS: The politics of the new organization is laid down in the new constitution:

> "To give constructive aid in promoting the cause of peace and freedom in the world and to aid, assist and cooperate with free and democratic labor movements throughout the world."

By CIO and AFL standards, "free and democratic labor movements" exclude most of the world's working people. International solidarity is to be in the hands of AFL's George T. Brown who, as Meany's assistant, has taken a strictly State Dept. view of world affairs. The CIO has differed only slightly from the AFL on foreign policy, for example taking a second more critical look at the Castillo Armas putsch in Guatemala. But since merger talks began, it has seemed to bury such differences.

Meany has bitterly denounced the "spirit of Geneva" and told a Catholic Communion breakfast in November: "Nor can we afford to get tired of the cold war."

When Notre Dame University last October awarded Meany the Laetare Medal as an "outstanding Catholic layman," he pledged labor to be an effective resistant to communism. Along with high Army officers, Meany reviewed the troops at Ft. Meyer last month. In his honor the Army band played "Man of the Hour" and portions of the "American Federation of Labor March." He was offered a 13-gun salute and a citation which said:

> "The U. S. Army feels that the AFL in their constant vigilance to safeguard our way of life, is indeed a strong partner, for we are aware of their successful national and international efforts to oppose the insidious spread of Communism and other totalitarian ideologies."

REWARD YOUR FRIENDS: Both Meany and Reuther see labor's battlefront in legislative lobbies at least as much if not more than on the picket lines. Meany proposes to wait until the parties choose their candidates, then back "liberals" from both parties. The CIO has put itself more squarely in the Democratic camp and seeks to bargain before the primaries. A few AFL leaders like the Teamsters' Dave Beck are outspokenly Republican. Fewer still have shown an inclination toward a labor party.

Not for months after the convention will it be plain where the new merger will go politically. President Eisenhower was invited to address the convention but, still insufficiently recovered, he has announced two cabinet members will speak for him: Secy. of Labor James P. Mitchell and Secy. of Health, Education and Welfare Marion B. Folsom. The Democrats will be represented by Adlai Stevenson and Gov. Harriman, both seeking labor support for their candidacies.

In politics as in pork chops the rank-and-file will have to build their own house of labor as they had begun to do on picket lines even before the brass began negotiating. On Dec. 5 the leaders will speak the word only.

Honest Ave

Of great significance is the influence the new organization will have in the battle against Communism around the world. Labor will speak with one voice. It will be the most potent voice in our country, outside of Government, which can speak for American ideals and objectives in the cold war.

—Gov. Averell Harriman, proclaiming Dec. 5-12 as "Free Labor Week."

GBS also means Good Buys at Savings

THE SOUTH KOREA DEPORTATION THREAT

Kwaks defiant on beliefs as hearing ends

ON NOV. 22, Immigration Dept. hearing officer Joseph Mack resumed the deportation hearing of Chungsoon and Choon Cha Kwak. Because of their consistent opposition to Syngman Rhee, the Kwaks have been fighting for six years against deportation to S. Korea, where they face persecution and possible death. They want to go to N. Korea, of which they say they are citizens.

At an earlier hearing on Nov. 14, counsel Ira Gollobin presented documentary evidence showing the danger the Kwaks would face if they were "extradited" to S. Korea. He criticized Mack for what he called unfair cross-examination. At the latest hearing, Mack again asked Chungsoon Kwak if the N. Korean government "exercises the principles of communism." When Kwak replied that he had previously answered the question "adequately," Mack demanded:

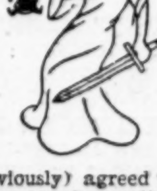
"Answer yes or no."

Protesting the repetition, Kwak gave his earlier answer:

> "The government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was established by the will of the Korean people. We are citizens of that country. You are an alien. We are not obliged to answer this kind of question. . . ."

MALE AND FEMALE: The hearing was held on the Kwaks' application to establish why they should not be deported to S. Korea, but Mack followed the "Are-you-or-have-you-ever-been-a-Communist" line of questioning and, by innuendos, questioned the Kwaks' good faith.

He asked if they read the **Daily Worker** and the **China Daily News,** owned a copy of Marx's **Capital** (he spelled out the German title) or had applied to the Soviet embassy for asylum in the Soviet Union. Objections to the questions as irrelevant were overruled. Kwak explained that he and his wife had gone to the embassy of the U. S. S. R.—which maintains friendly relations with N. Korea—to ask for "transit visas so that we can return to Pyongyang." When Mack turned to Choon Cha Kwak and asked if "the female applicant" (as he had referred to her previously) agreed with her husband's answers, she replied:



> "I, Mrs. Kwak, want the male hearing examiner to know my answer would be the same."

Mack observed that "in this country we respect authority." Kwak said:

> "You may see in yourself the incarnation of due process of law, since you have three roles. Those of the jury, prosecutor and judge. And at the end of this hearing you will write a finding!"

CITED TWICE: Counsel Gollobin offered two citations to the Kwaks for their services in World War II. The first, dated March 27, 1944, and signed by Maj. Amico J. Barone, said.

> "It gives me great pleasure to make this award to you. Your devotion to duty has been a real contribution to the important program with which the Language Section is charged—a program vital to the Armed Forces in the field."

The second, dated Feb. 17, 1945, and signed by the Army Service Forces' Information and Education Division's New York officer Col. Franklin S. Forsberg, said:

> "Your contribution to the successful prosecution of the war is a highly important one—perhaps more important than you yourself may realize. . . . It is hoped that you will continue to serve in the same exemplary manner and that your efforts will be justly rewarded by a successful career."

Mack is expected to announce his findings this month.

Cain's conversion

(Continued from Page 1)

ernment security program should be overhauled to prevent it from "unnecessarily destroying individuals."

"WARPED AND WORMY": A month later, on Feb. 20, he made a second public criticism of the program, charging that it had "swung too far on the side of injustice." From then on he became more and more critical of the security system. By June he was denouncing the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations as "a warped and wormy measuring rod" and insisting that only about 20 and "not more than 30" of the organizations on the list were "fronts" as defined in the Internal Security Act and that about 150 on the list are defunct. Today Harry Cain, who still describes himself as a conservative, is more annoying to the Administration than any other critic of the security program. Dept. of Justice officials have tried to hush him up and recently Sherman Adams, top assistant to the President, called him in and, in Cain's words, gave him "unshirted hell."

HARRY P. CAIN
A man has to live with himself

But Cain has persisted, and in the current hearings of the Pension Union has infuriated the government attorneys in the case. Recently, irked by one of his decisions which favored the Union, they called Washington for permission to appeal his ruling to the full SACB.

THE "CORONET" ARTICLE: Then, by Justice Dept. standards, Cain went too far. In the November issue of **Coronet** magazine, under the title "I Could Not Remain Silent," he explains his strange conversion. He "awakened from a hideous dream," he writes, after listening to an orator in Constitution Hall who "whipped his audience into a frenzy of hate. This was hatred of fellow Americans. All who failed to worship a Senator from Wisconsin were themselves, in the cries of this speaker, 'captives of the Communist conspiracy.'"

He also had some remorse:

> "And the shame of it I felt rising in my throat. For I had been a part of this. Without stopping to think, I, too, had shouted of the menace of Communist infiltration and called for extreme measures of internal security while I was a U.S. Senator. I had thrown the sneering phrase "soft on communism" at the few who wanted to slow down the inquisition."

BROTHER AGAINST BROTHER: After some reflection he reached these conclusions:

> "Our exaggerated fear of Communist infiltration had become a plague. It led brother to spy on brother, as in Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. It broke the lives of many decent little people, who, in a number of cases, were convicted by malicious rumor, plain dirty lies and the words of professional informers. The victims were thrown out of jobs and their characters stained. This fear stifled research. It turned sadists loose on government workers in the guise of security. It turned some statesmen into craven cowards. It blacklisted actors and artists. It drove teachers from their classrooms, defense workers from the shops. It mocked our American justice with a security net that touched one out of every ten adults in the United States."

BROWNELL MOVES: He describes several specific cases in which he became interested, one of them involving the Washington Pension Union which, he says, the victims joined in the Thirties "because it worked for free milk and pensions."

This was too much for Herbert Brownell. The Justice Dept. invited the Pension Union's defense attorney to reopen his motion to disqualify Cain, pretending that it hadn't known till now of his 1949 attack on the organization. The defense attorney wired the chairman of the SACB:

> "The respondent (Pension Union) does not wish to disqualify Cain, and finds nothing in the record of the hearing to date to indicate any manifestation of bias or prejudice on the part of Cain, who is conducting the hearing in a strictly impartial manner."

So the Justice Dept., on Nov. 22, took the extraordinary step of itself formally moving to disqualify Cain. It based its action on the 1949 quote, but also asked the SACB to "take judicial note" of the **Coronet** article. Next day the Pension Union denounced the Justice Dept.:

> "They pose as defenders of the rights of the Pension Union! And, to compound the hypocrisy, they do this on the basis that the hearing officer is prejudiced against the Pension Union. . . . Could anything better expose the base political purpose of the Justice Department?"

BRASS KNUCKLES OUT: Cain promptly suspended hearings until January and called the Justice Dept. move "interesting, strange and almost unbelievable."

The Madison, Wisc., **Capital Times** commented:

> "Former Senator Harry Cain . . . is finding out about the brass knuckle treatment the 'moral crusaders' in Washington can hand out once a man steps out of line. . . .
>
> "It appears that the move is on to cashier Cain out of his job, because he has had the courage to stand up and point out the un-American things that are being done under the security program. It simply proves that the hard-boiled politicians, such as Atty. Gen. Brownell, Adams and Vice-President Nixon, are not so much interested in security as they are in using the barbaric rules to play their old 'numbers games' for votes."

For the record

Communist China has recognized Outer Mongolia as an independent state. The Nationalist regime, in 1945, agreed to a plebiscite there, but took no action toward recognition after a vote of more than 99 per cent in favor of independence and a single-party Communist ticket.

—Lindesay Parrott,
N. Y. Times, page 2, Nov. 20.

●

A plebiscite in October, 1945, went overwhelmingly for independence, and in January, 1946, the Government of Chiang Kai-shek formally recognized Mongolia and entered into diplomatic relations with it.

—Harrison Salisbury,
N. Y. Times, page 2, Nov. 20.

So fundamental

NO PERSON should be censured for refusing to testify under the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, says Joseph N. Welch, the lawyer who represented the U. S. Army in the Army-McCarthy hearings last year. He added:

> "I suggest that we ought not to condemn any man for only asserting a right that is so fundamental it is guaranteed in the Constitution itself."

What is guaranteed, of course, is that a person shall not be compelled to be a witness against himself. One of the things potentially dangerous to the democratic system which has come from the workings of Senator McCarthy has been the doubt he cast upon the Fifth Amendment, after various witnesses before Senate committees invoked it. McCarthy has repeatedly sought to link the Fifth Amendment with Communism in the minds of the American people. Yet this amendment is a key one in our nation's Constitution, a great and successful guarantee of human rights.

One of the more sinister aspects of the McCarthy campaign to capture headlines and to win personal glory is that he uses the Constitution itself as a whipping boy. Mr. Welch's reminder is a timely one, for the Republican Senator from Wisconsin was back in print quite recently with his "Fifth Amendment Communist" line.

—**Arkansas Gazette** editorial. Oct. 21

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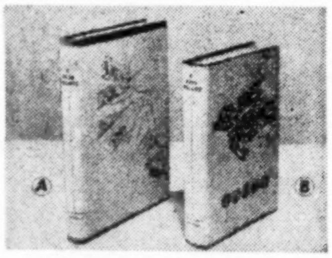

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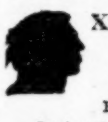

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CEDRIC BELFRAGE WRITES ON BURGESS AND MACLEAN

On hunting witches in England

LONDON

DOES THE CLAMOR over the Burgess-Maclean affair, culminating in the appointment of a Privy Councillors' committee on "security precautions," indicate that a Washington-style witch-hunt is getting under way in Britain?

There are many ways to skin a cat, and the British skinners' way has always been so much subtler than the American that you can't estimate the cat's danger by the same signs and portents. Certainly the British opposite numbers of the McCarthys are flashing their knives and publicly slavering at the scent of progressive blood. The danger is there, and the cat better watch out. But based on the record, on my own impressions and those of level-headed progressives here, the stolid British people are not going to let this party get very warmed up.

In the House of Lords debate Nov. 22 it was Viscount Astor who tried to get it off the ground. He was a member of his Lady mother's pre-war "Cliveden set" and one of the 27 Tory MP's and 28 Lords who belonged to the pro-Nazi Anglo-German Fellowship.

SLUMBER IN LORDS: Warning of a "fifth column that has penetrated the highest ranks of the Civil Service, science, even the Church," he borrowed McCarthy's headline-assuring "communists and queers" line by calling Burgess "drunken, dirty and sexually inebriate. Those people," he haw-hawed,

> ". . . are dedicated with no standards of honor, no patriotism as we know it. . . . We have got to assure the efficiency of our security services. Is there, for instance, an unlimited right of leaving this country with or without a passport?"

It didn't go terribly well. As the debate proceeded on the usual lethargic House of Lords note, the gentleman occupying the chair, or "Woolsack," in the Lord Chancellor's absence fell into an untroubled sleep. And observers of the placid scene recalled how, during the recent Commons debate on the "Burgess-Maclean scandal," the House steadily emptied.

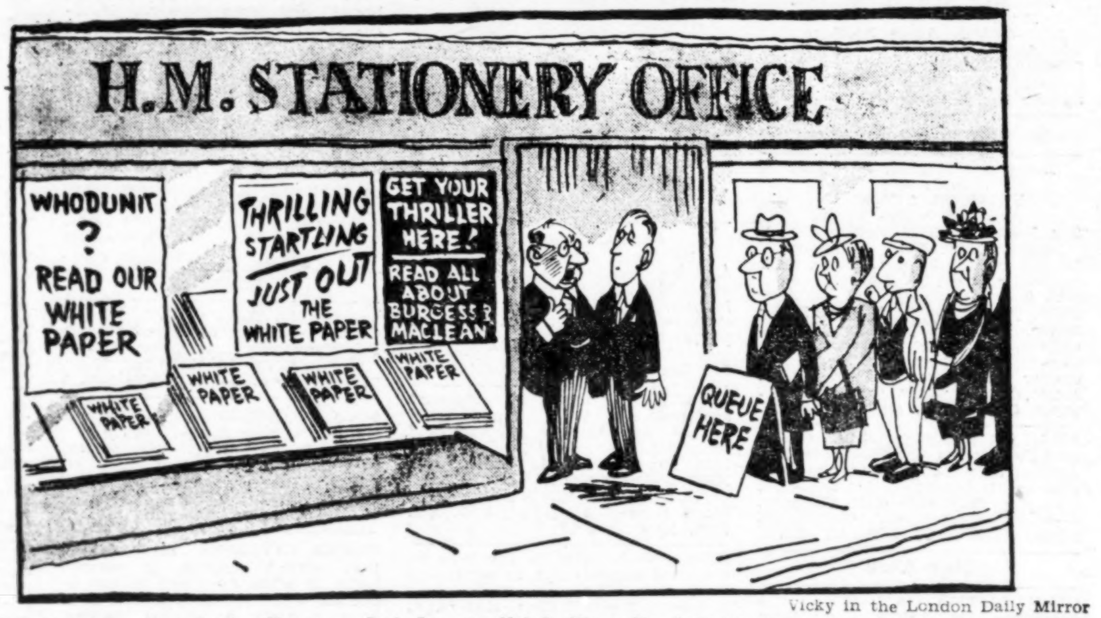
DON'T SHAKE THE PILLARS: There are several reasons for this un-McCarthyist lack of fervor. One is that Maclean, whose father was cabinet minister Sir Donald, belongs to a family among the "pillars of society"—an area in which many are disinclined to be turning up rocks and searching underneath. Another is that very little is known about Burgess and Maclean except that they seem to have been personally disreputable (and therefore possibly subject to blackmail and with sound reasons to disappear). Nobody knows where they are now. The evidence of their left-wing associations is thin, and if there were more it would have come out in the Commons debate.

The big reason is that previous efforts to start an all-out witch-hunt in Britain, while they provided the sensation-seeking press with headlines, have brought prompt and determined resistance from the people. Witch-hunting has never shown itself here to be a good device for getting and keeping the voters' affections. As one progressive with a sharp eye for abuses of civil liberties said to me:

> "You must remember that to be anti-capitalist is not considered disloyal by most people here. You can even say it. And we have a trade union movement which by and large is anti-capitalist, as opposed to America where it is capitalist and merely wants a bigger share. Remember, too, that a number of Labour Party people are known to have been Communists—and even quite a few Tories were once associated with left-wing bodies. Many key people have good reason to fear a witch-hunt."

RATTING IS NOT POPULAR: To illustrate, my friend recalled that when the AFL invited British union delegations to study U.S. industrial productivity, one union elected four men to go on the junket. But not one of them could pass the $64 test to get a U.S. passport, and not one made the trip. My friend added that the two Britons who have written "I Was a Communist" books never became heroes in the unions and Labour Party:

> "Trying to take personal advantage out of switching parties is not considered a very decent thing to do, 'ratting' is still frowned on, and some who have switched rather take pride in not having done it."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Vicky in the London Daily **Mirror**

"I know we've got a best-seller . . . but do you think it's quite done to dress our window like THAT?"

It was Labour's Attlee who as Prime Minister, following Truman's Executive Order in the U.S., began the still-continuing purge of British civil servants on "security" grounds based on connections with left-wing groups. There is a committee of three top-rank retired civil servants to whom purgees can appeal. How much injustice may have resulted, nobody exactly knows; but purgees appear at least to be confronted with specific charges and, generally speaking, not to be fired but transferred to "unsensitive" posts.

What was more dangerous was the broadening of the "security-check" purge to industrial workers on construction jobs such as building U.S. air bases. But there is broad vigilance to prevent it developing into a witch-hunt against union militants. Questions in Commons—such as R. H. S. Crossman's this month about a Coventry electronics engineer fired for having been a CP branch secretary (which he never was)—are apt to lead to remedial action.

LAY OFF THE TEACHERS: Any suggestion of political tests for occupants of state-aided housing, or for school teachers, arouses general horror in Britain. Only one local authority, Middlesex County Council, has introduced it for school principals, and there have been steady protests ever since. When a Councillor in Cambridge objected to the re-appointment as a teacher of the wife of Alan Nunn May, the scientist convicted of atom-spying, his fellow-Councillors "gave him what for" and both the local and national press chastised him for his attitude. That this climate persists is indicated by a letter I received last week on the stationery of a British university:

> "Would you be willing to speak to the staff, and possibly the students, of this university? I must explain that I am a member of the lecturing staff and run a broad discussion group among the staff. . . . I am myself well known as a Communist, but anyone invited by me stands on his own political feet."

Whenever there have been signs of a Washington-style witch-hunt beginning, there has been a big public reaction—as in the spring of last year, when these cases all broke into the news:

- A woman fired from a canteen job in a "security" plant because she was married to a Communist, although not one herself;
- Refusal of a pastorate to a minister who went to a peace conference (where he spoke as a pacifist, opposing the conference "line");
- A Boy Scout who was told he was no longer eligible to be one because he was secretary of the local Young Communist League;
- "Security" firing of a woman who carried parcels for the Supply Ministry.

The Natl. Council for Civil Liberties began preparing a pamphlet to show the incipient danger in this collection of cases, but before it was even written the embryonic witch-hunt had already died down as a result of public protests.

NOT FOR ENGLAND: Last month the Home and Foreign Offices put out another trial baloon in connection with the London conference on town and regional planning—some of whose organizers, they said in warning letters to prospective participants, had "undesirable political affiliations." In a blistering lecture to everyone responsible, the Sunday **Observer,** which speaks for the most respectable elements, pointed out that this was "not an English expression!"

The press seems resigned to getting no further sensations out of Burgess-Maclean now that the security probe is in the hands of the seven Privy Councillors (including Lord Jowitt, author of the famous book questioning the justice of the Hiss case). The paper most outraged by the appointment of the Privy Councillors' committee was the Labour Party hierarchy's organ **Daily Herald,** which deplored

> ". . . the astonishing occurrence of the Tory Chief Whip hissing to Lord Astor a request to 'sit down!' So this miserable story of evasion, misinformation and attempts to hush matters up has continued to run true to form."

The mass-circulation pro-Labour **Mirror**'s editorial only mentioned Burgess and Maclean obliquely, in flaying the Foreign Office for letting an unnamed spokesman call Marshal Bulganin—"who will be a guest in this country next year"—a hypocrite. The **Mirror**'s right-wing rival, the **Sketch,** simply reported the Privy Councillors' appointment under the back-page headline: "SPY CASE ROW—PROBE CLOSED."

Still, there are many ways to skin a cat—and progressives are watching closely.

MME. STEFANSKA PLAYS IN TOWN HALL DEC. 3

U.S. delegation boycotts UN Polish concert

THE U.S. delegation to the United Nations last week boycotted a recital at the UN by Poland's best known pianist Halina Czerny-Stefanska. The concert, sponsored jointly by UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold, President of the General Assembly Jose Maza of Chile and the Polish delegation, marked the 100th anniversary of the death of Adam Mickiewicz, Poland's greatest poet.

A U.S. spokesman made it plain the delegates stayed away out of dislike of the Polish government. The concert was brilliantly successful despite the official boycott and protests from bitter anti-communist Polish emigre groups who mounted a picket line of 10.

New Yorkers will have the chance to hear Mme. Stefanska on Saturday evening, Dec. 3 at Town Hall when she appears as soloist with the Symphony of the Air, Izler Solomon conducting.

Noted particularly for her interpretatons of Chopin's works, Mme. Stefanska is one of the few artists from her country to appear in the U.S. in recent years. Recipient of the coveted first prize at the Fourth Intl. Chopin Competition in 1949, she has since that time played in many parts of the world.

On Dec. 3, Mme. Stefanska will play Mozart's Concerto in C Major and the E minor Piano Cencerto of Chopin. Mozart's Symphony in D Major (Prague) completes the program.

She will also be heard in recitals in Los Angeles, San Francisco and Chicago.

ANOTHER VICTORY

ICC ends jimcrow in interstate travel

THE INTERSTATE Commerce Commission on Nov. 25 decreed that jimcrow on trains and buses crossing state lines must end by Jan. 10. Suit was brought by the NAACP against 13 railroads and the Union News Co.

"The "separate-but-equal" principle has stood since the U.S. Supreme Court in 1896 ruled (Plessy v. Ferguson) that segregation on railroad trains was constitutional so long as Negroes were provided "equal" facilities. A court test of the ICC ruling—which dealt with violation of the Interstate Commerce Act and involved no constitutional question—would give the high court opportunity to reverse its 1896 decision. Such a test, in view of opposition by some Southern officials, is thought likely.

The ICC ruling dismissed a complaint against the Union News Co., operating a lunchrooom in the Richmond, Va., railroad terminal, as being not subject to the Interstate Commerce Act. It held, however, that railroad-station waiting rooms that practiced jimcrow violated the law.

The GUARDIAN next week will present a detailed analysis of the ICC decision.